Y /2 cont./

121 who, in the year 1875, again visited the lower part of the Olenék
[114] and the Lena to complete his observations, while at the same time I took part in the surveying of Siberia, likewise started by the Geographical Society.

Y
[126] Since East Siberia, and especially the part under consideration here, is apt to be a complete terra incognita to the foreign reader to an even greater extent than to the Russian, I shall /3/ also add here for better orientation a brief survey of the history, rather uneventful in itself, of this northernmost region of Russia, with reference to the general map of the territory between the Jenisseí and Jana /Yana/ appended to this volume, which, drawn up according to our data, was reproduced by the Imperial Russian General Staff.

Y
175 The stretches of land of interest to us were discovered by Rus-
● 648 sian Cossacks in the first half ot the seventeenth century. The
167 city of Mangaséja /Mangazeya/ was founded on the river Tas /Taz/ in Samojeden /Samoyed/ country about the year 1600
[361] under the rule of Czar Boris Fedorovich Godunov. From here the Cossacks soon penetrated to the Jenisseí, founded there in the year 1607 near the mouth of the Turuchán /Turukhan/ River a settlement named after it, to which the entire trade of Mangaséja was later directed, and soon afterwards also discovered the mouths of the Jenisseí and the Pjássida River lying to the east. Spurred on by ambition and also not forgetting their pockets, Cossacks in the following years gradually pushed up the (Lower) Tungúska, emptying into the Jenisseí near Turuchánsk, before them, as Fischer (1) relates, the hunters ("are rovers who band together in

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[113]

1. Johann Eberhard Fischer, Sibirische Geschichte /Siberian History/, St. Petersburg, 1768. 2 vols. The following very characteristic quotations are taken from this work.

order to catch game"). The Lena was reached probably as early as 1620 (even earlier by the hunters) by crossing the watershed, barely 30 versts wide here, from the present village of Podwolótschnaja /Podvoloshnaya/ on the Tunguska and therefore emerging about 50 versts below the present Kirensk.

T
648 This was not accomplished without battle with the resident
721 tribes. Fischer tells about a band /4/ of 189 hunters: "Never-
175 theless they were occasionally sharply rapped on the knuckles

T /4 cont./

175 by the Tungus lying in wait for them, and the light went out for
648 one or another of them if he strayed too far from the band."
721 In another place it is likewise said about the ancestors of our now
T quite harmless Tungus friends: "These (the Tungus on the
[181] Tschája /Chaya/) told him much about those Tungus living on the Nishna-Tunguska, that they were a wild and stouthearted people, that they had sometimes picked a quarrel with a hundred Russians and beat them."

Y In the year 1620, through the Tungus, the Cossacks received
● 648 the first report about the Wiljúi /Vilyui/, its nearness to the
175 Tunguska, and about the Jakuten /Yakut/ on the lower Lena. They considered this news so important that they reported it to Tobólsk, at that time the capital of Siberia, and to Moscow. Instructions seem to have failed to appear for a long time, for it was not until the year 1630 that Martin Wassíljew /Vasilyev/ was sent out to the Jakuten with 30 men; then, navigating down the Wiljúi, he fulfilled his mission and took from the Jakuten the first tribute (jassák /yassak/), probably more for his gain than for that of the crown, for although, personally sent to Moscow, he had boasted there after his return "to bring the whole Jakut nation under his heel, provided that for this purpose he were given 40 additional men for reinforcement," and although this reinforcement was granted, Wassiljew was dismissed immediately afterwards, and a Circassian, Stepán Korýtow, was named as head of the expedition, which was undertaken in the year 1632.

T In the meantime, however, the Jenisseisk Cossacks, who had
[648] gradually gone up the Upper Tunguska (Angará) and the Ilím, but
[721] not without battles with the Tungus and Burjáten /Buryat/, had reached the upper Lena /5/ and navigated down to the mouth of
Y the Kírenga, near the present Kirensk. They, too, heard about
648 the Jakuten and their wealth in livestock, and, as Fischer says
439 of one of their leaders: "That succulent tidbit made his mouth
175 water." But it was not until the year 1632 that the sotnik Peter Beketow went down the Lena and, with a handful of Cossacks, established a small fort 15 versts below the present Jakutsk /Yakutsk/. That the tidbit was indeed succulent is clear from Fischer's words: "How profitable the trade must have been in this early period may be gathered from the fact, among others, that the Jakuten paid for the copper kettles, which they preferred over other Russian wares, with as many sables as could be put in

each Kettle.

/5 cont./

each kettle." Unfortunately discord now arose among the Russians themselves. The above-mentioned expedition from Turuchansk had traveled down the Wiljui, captured a Cossack division sent by Bekétow, imposed on various Jakuten tribes who had previously paid their jassak to Jakutsk another such, and finally set up a winter camp on the Aldán. The Jakuten /Yakut/, outraged at such treatment, besieged the Jakutsk fort in January and February of 1634, and little was needed for the garrison to starve to death. Fortunately, however, "the Jakuten became bored and went away."

The fight ended, however, when Korýtow was taken prisoner and sent back to Turuchansk, but several Jakuten tribes, discontented with the new regiment, went in search of more distant regions--some emigrated to the Wiljui, others to the Arctic Ocean, and still others to the present Oljókminsk /Olekminsk/ district. The enterprising Jenisseisk Cossacks, however, did not rest /6/ on their laurels. In the year 1636 Jelissei /Elisei/ Búsa was sent out from Jenisseisk under orders to visit the rivers flowing into the Arctic Ocean and to impose jassak on the dwellers along them. With ten Cossacks and 40 hunters, after he had wintered in Oljóminsk, he went to the mouth of the Lena in the following spring and from there, after a short journey, reached the mouth of the Olenek. "Here he went upstream until he met some Tungus, from whom he seized five sorok (5 x 40 = 200) sables as tribute; and, since winter was at hand, he built for himself and his people a hut for winter quarters." In the meantime, however, the Jakutsk Cossacks had also discovered the Olenek. From the Wiljui, which, after the expulsion of the Turuchansk people, was now open to them, they went up the Marchá /Markha/ and thus reached the upper part of the Olenek, where, in the same year that Busa appeared as conqueror on the lower course, they carried on the same business as he did, without knowing about him. In the following spring Busa traveled overland to the Lena, which he reached near Siktjach /Siktyakh/ (at 70° latitude), again built himself boats, and navigated with them again down the Lena, but then to the east, entered the Jána /Yana/, and imposed jassak on the dwellers along this river, as well as, in subsequent years, on the natives living farther to the east on the Arctic Ocean. He did not return to

/6 cont./He did not return to
● 648 Jakutsk until the year 1642. Also along the Jana, while Busa
175 lived on the lower part, the upper part was conquered by the Jakutsk Cossacks, who traveled there on horseback across the mountains from the Aldan.

So much for the oldest authenticated history of these northern regions. Russian dominance became stronger and stronger, especially after /7/ the constant strife between the various Cossack parties was brought to an end as a result of the appointment in Jakutsk of an independent wojewoden /voivode/ in the year 1641.

175 I have only a few more words to add about the scientific
114 conquest of the region in question. It began first with Peter the Great, although there were earlier maps of Siberia and routes of march prepared by Rémesow /Remezov/, whose atlas still exists in manuscript, but no longer meets current demands. Peter the Great sent geodesists to Siberia and took care of their training. Especially important for us is the expedition of Messerschmidt, who was originally called upon by Peter for the first founding of an academy of the sciences and in 1719 was sent to Siberia, where, on numerous journeys up to 1727, he collected valuable material for the natural sciences, as well as undertaking a great many latitudinal measurements. On the Lower Tunguska Messerschmidt was our first and only predecessor; he went up the river from the Troitzky Monastery to Podwolotschnaja /Podvoloshnaya/.

Forever memorable are the expeditions under the leadership of Bering, carried out with the utmost endurance for ten years, from 1733-1743, during the reign of the Empress Anna Ivanovna, which finally resulted in the complete survey of the north and part of the east coast of Siberia. Prόntschischtschew /Prontschischev/ and Charitόn Láptew /Laptev/ in particular worked from the Lena toward the west; the former and his wife succumbed to the hardships at the mouth of the Olenek. Of the scientists accompanying this great expedition, the naturalist Gmelin, Sr., the historiographer Müller, and the astronomer de l'Isle /De Lisle/ de la Croyère, with whom Steller and Fischer were later associated, none came into the territory explored by us. For this, /8/ besides the aforementioned Messerschmidt, we had as predecessor only the present Bishop of Jakutsk, Dionýssij, who, as the missionary Chitrów, visited the lower Olenek and published (in the publications of the Siberian Section of the

/131 cont./

122 this one; we could not even buy a reindeer from him. /132/
123 He pretended to be a poor man and to own only five of them, on which he had come here with his family; nevertheless immediately after he left us, we saw 11 fine reindeer, which accompanied us along the bank for a long time. We had already heard about the inhospitality and untrustworthiness of the people along the Olenék; now we could report on it ourselves.

Fortunately on the evening of the next day our attention was again drawn to a human habitation by a column of smoke. Soon after we had landed a little distance from it, a boat came toward us. The occupant of it, perhaps frightened because he saw me lounging on the bank with my gun, approached with his weapon held ready and called to us from a distance. Only when he was addressed in his mother tongue (Jakut /Yakut/) did [186] he put aside the weapon and come to land. He later explained that he had taken us for Tatars, who, according to a legend [648] that he had heard in childhood, were supposed to be great robbers. Boldonó's attempt to whisper something in the ear of the new arrival was fortunately thwarted by Sseliphón, and so he proved to be ready to sell us a reindeer immediately, as well as, after some parleying, to accompany us as a guide on our further travels. Boldonó was kept away from our new guide, named Ignátij, as much as possible by our men, who had also become suspicious of him, and was paid off the next morning, this time certainly not generously and with a few threats on account of his bad conduct. /The last paragraph on p. 132 and pp. 133-134 are omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

[342] /135/ On the evening of August 19 we again came in sight of a tschum /choom/, as well as a larger herd of reindeer, [231] probably about 50 head. Ignátij explained that this was a Jakute /Yakut/ with whom he was acquainted, Filípp Chologón, with whom in the previous spring he had hunted wild reindeer on the upper Beké, a rich man and formerly a community elder, who also knew the river well, "for he swims around on it like a gagára." In any case it would pay to make his acquaintance. We therefore, since no good landing place was to be found in his vicinity, put in a few versts below and sent Ignátij and

/254 cont./

241 The results of the agriculture in the province of Jakutsk are, to be sure, not so favorable, according to the official data furnished by the isprawnik /ispravnik/. I shall give here only the annual totals, whereas the report is much more detailed. The numbers refer to Russian chetvert (a grain measure = 2.1 hectoliters):

	Sowing	Harvest
1870:	5,131	20,229
1871:	6,050	12,614
1872:	5,682	19,725
1873:	6,621	14,388
1874:	6,708	35,259

According to this, the yield would be only twofold to fivefold, which, however, is by no means the case. The largest part 241 of the agricultural population, the Jakuten /Yakut/, intentionally ● 648 deceive the officials in every respect concerning their yield, so that favorable reports on the harvest may not be taken as an excuse /255/ to settle exiles in their district, against whom they have supreme contempt. The Skoptsy, on the other hand, who, as was said above, immediately devote themselves to agriculture with great diligence wherever they settle, falsify their statements about their harvests in order to drive up the market prices. Vegetables of all kinds, even cucumbers and, in hothouses, melons and watermelons, are cultivated with great success. I myself enjoyed excellent preserved cauliflower, the heads of which are said to become very large.

871 The bitter cold lasting during our entire stay and our health, greatly affected by the rigors of the journey, prevented us from seeing various points of interest in the city, except for a few churches and, among other things, the classical Progymnasium, in which Russian and Jakut boys are prepared for further training in the Irkutsk Gymnasium. The institution has four classes; Greek and Latin are required subjects. I myself, to be sure, am an advocate of classical learning and cannot imagine a true scholar without it, but I cannot now or ever approve of such a carrying out of the classical system as took

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

most of the vocabulary and the grammatical structure are undoubtedly Turkic in origin. At the same time, the language contains a considerable number of loan words from the Mongol and Tungus languages. Academician V. V. Radlov (1908) put forward the hypothesis that the vocabulary, phonetic structure, and even the grammatical structure of the Yakut language has a pre-Turkic, more ancient stratum of partly Mongol and partly indeterminate origin.

The latest research, admittedly, has not confirmed this hypothesis; hence the problem of non-Turkic elements in the Yakut language requires further study. Analysis of the names of the Yakut tribal-clan groups (known from 17th-century documents and also from later data) confirms that the Yakut population is further made up of immigrant groups from the south. To judge by the names, these include the present-day Batulins, Khorins, Tumats, Ergits, and some other clans and naslegs[1]. It may be considered that pastoral groups, taking their nomadic culture with them, gradually infiltrated the Middle Lena Basin from the south, from the Baykal regions. One of the principal groups of these migrants from the south was evidently the Kurykans—a Turkic people inhabiting the western Baykal region in the 9th and 10th centuries. Since some of the Kurykans clearly contributed to the composition of the western Buryats later on, this explains many features of similarity in the culture of the western Buryats and Yakuts and the wide distribution of the same anthropological type among both of them.

The trek northwards was gradual and took a long time. In the Amga-Lena watershed, under conditions favorable for pastoralism, these newly arrived groups settled down, establishing contact with the local hunting-fishing population. In the process of economic and cultural contact, there was gradual absorption of the local population by the newcomers. A higher, pastoral type of economy and southern elements of culture, as well as the Turkic language, became predominant.

Such is the ethnogenesis of the Yakuts in the light of present-day knowledge.

Precise historical accounts of the Yakuts only date from the time of their first contact with the Russians, that is to say, 1620, and annexation to the Russian State. At that time the Yakuts were not a single political unit, but were divided into a number of independent tribes. Tribal relations were already decomposing, however, and there was a fairly clearly marked class stratification. The tsarist voyevods and soldiery took advantage of the intertribal strife to break the resistance of some of the Yakut population; they also took advantage of the class differences within it by pursuing a policy of systematic support of the ruling aristocratic clique, the princelings (toyons), whom they turned into their own agents for purposes of governing the Yakut district. From that moment on, the class differences among the Yakuts began to become more clearly marked.

The Yakut masses led a hard life. They paid tribute in sable and fox furs, had to perform a number of other compulsory services and were exploited by the tsarist soldiery, Russian merchants and their own toyons. After several unsuccesful uprisings (1634, 1636–1637, 1639–1640, and 1642), and after the toyons had gone over to the side of the voyevods, the Yakut masses could only retaliate against the oppression by sporadic attempts at resistance and flight from their native ulusy to outlying pa-ts.

[1] A territorial and population unit; originally, the members of a single camp, now equivalent to the rayon.—Ed.

53: Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

parts. By the end of the 18th century, the fur resources of the Yakut district were running out and the district itself had been partially devastated through the piratical rule of the tsarist authorities. At the same time, the Yakut population, which had migrated from the Lena-Vilyuy district for various reasons, appeared on the borderland of Yakutiya, where they had not been seen before—on the Kolyma, Indigirka, Olenek and Anabar right up to the Lower Tunguska Basin.

But even during those first few decades contact with the Russian people favorably influenced the economics and culture of the Yakuts. The Russians brought a higher culture with them; agriculture was already in evidence on the Lena by the middle of the 17th century; the Russian type of dwelling, Russian fabric clothes, new trades, new furnishings and domestic objects slowly began to find their way among the Yakut population.

It is an extremely important fact that the establishment of Russian authority in Yakutiya put a stop to the intertribal warring and looting by the toyons, which up to that time had been a great hardship for the Yakut population.

An end was also put to the arbitrary behavior of the Russian soldiers, who often fell out among themselves and tried to draw the Yakuts into their quarrels. The order established in 1640 in the Yakut country was better than the previous state of chronic anarchy and constant internecine strife.

In the 18th century, by dint of the further penetration by the Russians to the east (the annexation of Kamchatka, the Chukchi peninsula, the Aleutian Islands and Alaska), Yakutiya played the part of a transit camp for new campaigns and the acquisition of more distant lands.

Between 1720 and 1740, the expeditions of Bering increased the importance of the Yakutsk-Okhotsk highway, which was used to transport a great deal of freight (this highway retained its importance up to the middle of the 19th century). All this drew Yakutiya into Russia's system of economic ties and thereby raised the general level of the productive forces of that territory.

The influx of Russian peasants (particularly along the Lena Valley on account of the construction of the mail route in 1773) created the right conditions for mutual influence between Russian and Yakut cultural elements. By the end of the 17th and 18th centuries, agriculture began to be practiced by the Yakuts, though at first it was a very slow business and Russian-type houses began to appear. Nevertheless, even in the 19th century the number of Russian settlers was comparatively small.

In addition to peasant colonization, of great importance in the 19th century was the system of convict settlements in Yakutiya. Together with the criminal convicts, whose effect on the Yakuts was negative, political exiles began to appear in Yakutiya in the second half of the 19th century; these were first the Narodniks[2], and later, in the 1890's, the Marxists, and they played a large part in the cultural and political development of the Yakut masses.

By the beginning of the 20th century, great strides had been made in the economic development of Yakutiya, at least in the central regions

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[2] Literally, "Populists;" adherents of a political movement directed toward a radical reconstruction of the social order through the peasantry.—Ed.

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

(Yakutskiy, Vilyuyskiy, and Olekminskiy Okrugs). An internal market was established and the development of economic ties speeded up the growth of national self-awareness. 175 648

Despite the cruel exploitation of the poorer Yakuts by the tsarist authorities and their own bourgeois-toyon hierarchy, the class struggle in Yakutiya up to 1890 was restricted to covert forms. But from this time the struggle of the ulus poor for land, possessed by the toyons, grew more and more intense. The growing discontent, however, was to some extent utilized by the toyons themselves, who were able by skillful maneuvering to direct the discontent away from themselves and toward the tsarist officialdom during the 1905–1906 revolution. In 1906 the toyons set up the Yakut Union—a bourgeois-nationalist organization, which did not last very long.

During the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917, the movement of the Yakut masses for liberation developed more deeply and widely. At first it was led predominantly by Bolsheviks (particularly in Yakutsk), but after the return of most of the political exiles to Russia (in May 1917), the counterrevolutionary groups of the toyons, who had joined forces with the Social-revolutionary-bourgeois section of the urban population, gained the upper hand.

The struggle for Soviet power in Yakutiya dragged on for a long time. It was only on June 30, 1918, that the Soviet regime was officially proclaimed for the first time in Yakutsk, and only in December 1919, after the liquidation of the Kolchak forces all over Siberia, that the Soviet regime was finally established in Yakutiya.

Pastoralism

Pastoralism has been the principal branch of Yakut economy for centuries, clearly distinguishing the Yakuts from the surrounding peoples. 231 In Russian documents of the 17th century the Yakuts are sometimes called "the horse people." But both at that time and later, apart from horse-breeding, the principal form of Yakut economy was the breeding of cattle. These were distributed more evenly among the different classes of the population than horses, which were concentrated in the hands of the toyons.

During the 19th century, horse-breeding in Yakutiya gradually declined. At the end of the century, there were only 115,000–130,000 horses and 220,000–260,000 head of cattle. Apart from these types of livestock, the Yakuts also had dogs (both hunting dogs and watchdogs) and oats as domestic animals. In the northern regions, the Yakuts herded reindeer, like the Evenks. Other types of domestic animals such as sheep, goats, pigs, and also poultry were unknown before the arrival of the Russians, and were hardly to be found at all on Yakut farms right up to the Revolution.

With regard to methods of keeping cattle, the Yakuts had long practiced two basic systems—pasturing and stabling. The horses were left to graze both in the summer and (usually) in the winter; by no means was fodder always stored away for them and on many farms the horses had to dig it up with their hooves from under the snow throughout the winter. The Yakuts stored up hay as winter fodder for foals and cattle.

The Yakuts were familiar with mowing before the arrival of the Russians (the current opinion that the technique of mowing was acquired from the Russians is wrong), although it was evidently conducted on a smaller scale. Legend states that in ancient times bone scythes were used for mowing. But the Yakut scythe, which was retained until recently 412

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RV2 Yakut RV2

224 aquatic and forest birds-duck, partridge, hazel-grouse, and so on. In the northern regions, the Yakuts engaged, and still engage, far more in hunting; for the Yakuts from these regions, just as for the Evenks, Evens, and Yukagirs, hunting is at times the chief means of subsistence. There, they chiefly hunt blue fox, hare, wild reindeer, elk, wild duck and geese, and so on.

The hunting techniques of the Yakuts hardly differed from those of other hunting peoples in Siberia. Instead of bows and arrows, guns (usually the flint type) came into use all over during the 19th century, and were used for squirrels, birds and other game; dogs were also used. A variety of traps and hunting equipment including blue-fox snares, bear-traps, hair nooses for hares and birds, and so on.

A purely Yakut method of hunting, unknown to any other people, is one in which an ox is used; the hunter skillfully approaches the game, hiding behind the ox, which he drives in front of him, then making the ox lie down, fires at the target from behind it. This method of hunting can be regarded as a modification of the well-known Tungus technique using a decoy reindeer as the bait; the modification is due to the transition from reindeer-breeding to pastoralism.

The Yakuts also had another method of hunting, unknown to the population of the taiga, which was a tradition among the steppe nomads; this consisted in driving the game on horseback, sometimes with dogs.

222 Gathering also played an important part as a subsidiary occupation, particularly among the poorer people. Pine sapwood (the inside layer of the bark) was usually gathered by women in the early spring and stored up for the winter in large quantities and in the dried form (from 10 to 100 poods per family, according to some sources).

In the northern regions where pines do not grow, they gathered larch sapwood, although it was not valued to the same degree, and various edible roots (lily, chekana) and green vegetables (wild onion, horseradish, sorrel, etc.).

Of far less importance in the economy of the Yakuts was berrying (blueberries, bog blueberries and so on).

241 The Yakuts only became familiar with soil cultivation fairly recently.
● 648 At the time of the arrival of the Russians, agriculture was not to be found at all in Yakutiya, and even later it was only a few Russian settlers who engaged in it. Although in certain cases the Yakuts had been sowing crops since the end of the 17th century, it was only about the middle of the 19th century that agriculture became widespread in the Yakut economy, and this was chiefly due to the influence of the Russian peasants (particularly in the Olekminskiy Okrug).

The overall development of commodity relationships helped to speed up the development of agriculture and here and there ploughing was enforced by the administration.

At the end of the 19th century, the political exiles and the exiled Skoptsy helped to spread agriculture among the Yakuts.

Nevertheless, right up to the Revolution there was comparatively little farming among the Yakut population. They sowed some barley and less wheat. The tilling techniques were always very primitive.

Crafts and Trades

323 The processing of raw materials and the making of different objects
[53] among the Yakuts chiefly retained the nature of domestic production for personal needs and not commerce. Woodworking and the making of

53: Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

342

Summer birchbark dwelling and six-cornered house.

There was another type of construction found among the Yakuts (either as a dwelling or as a cattle stall); it was a six- or eight-cornered log yurt with a pyramidal roof, identical to the well-known Buryat and Khakas structures. These yurts were observed, for example, in the regions near the mouth of the Vilyuy, in the Megin'skiy and Borogonskiy ulusy, as well as in the Kolymskiy Okrug. They have been known since the 18th century.

342 178 [171]

During the 19th century the Russian type of structure--the log hut--gradually came into use among the Yakuts, particularly the better off people. At the beginning of the 20th century there were many such houses, particularly in areas near towns. A mixed type was often found: for example, a log hut built onto a yurt, a log hut with a Yakut hearth, and so on.

342 177

The living quarters and farm buildings of the family and the space surrounding them constituted the farmstead, which was fenced off with a solid fence of horisontal poles without any gates (in order to get inside the poles at one spot were removed from their supports, or else people simply stepped over them). Inside the enclosure were posts for tying up horses, and these were skillfully carved. In the summer camps the farms were often close together.

357

When speaking of structures, we should also mention the fact that in the old days the Yakuts knew how to make fortifications or ostrozhki, as they were called in the Russian texts of the 17th century. For example, in 1636-1637, during the campaign against the Kangalastsy, the Russian Cossacks found that "they had built strong forts with two walls covered with gravel, and surrounded by snow and water;" it was only after a two-day assault that the Cossacks managed to take one of these forts. In 1642 the Russians also took a Yakut fortress after great difficulty: ". . . the fort was made with two walls, the space between the walls was filled with earth, and there were log towers." At a later stage these fortifications disappeared, and no one has described them since in detail. But even in the 19th century it was possible to find special tower-like barns here and there, which belonged to the Toyons.

175 648 ● 742 726

Clothing

The national Yakut costume had only been partly preserved by the beginning of the 20th century, having been replaced by Russian clothing or at least strongly influenced by the latter. The national cut and purely Yakut materials were preserved to a greater extent in the winter clothing.

291 177 178

Nevertheless, the meadows and fisheries had already been taken over to The Yakuts

some extent by the toyons. The seizure of them was accompanied by a hard struggle since the communes resisted the toyon claims to their own land.

Such, in general terms, was the social structure of the Yakuts by the time the Russians arrived. Tsarist policy between the 17th and 19th centuries speeded up the development of social relations, so that Yakut society just before the October Revolution had already changed very much from what it had been three centuries ago. Nevertheless, many phenomena proved extremely stable and retained their archaic nature until recent times. Just before the Revolution the division of the Yakuts into strata according to the property they possessed was extremely marked. Most of the population did not even have enough cattle for the hunger norm (this norm, when the grade of the livestock was low, was considered to be two head of livestock per person), whereas in the few toyon households there were several dozen head of livestock per person. However, the unequal distribution of the livestock was by no means anything new for the Yakuts. But the question of land was different. The system which had grown up in the domain of land tenure was of comparatively recent origin. Since the arrival of the Russians in Yakutiya, the process of decomposition of the ancient communal-clan system of using the meadowland had been stepped up. The toyons were vigorously seeking to acquire the common lands. The development of private land ownership by the toyons continued to the 1760's, when certain measures introduced by the Russian administration gave it a new direction. In 1765, Yakuts were forbidden to buy or sell land, and in the next few years, through the activity of the Yakut Tribute Commission, the distribution of land in accordance with the so-called "sable" and "fox" taxes or parts of them was introduced among the Yakuts. Later on, in about 1820, this distribution of land assumed the form of the so-called "class system" of land usage, which legalized the extremely unequal distribution of the land, though, on the surface, it seemed to be something like common land usage. This "class system," which was later modified, had assumed the following form by the beginning of the 20th century.

The unit of measurement of land among the Yakuts was the "rick" (*кугуго*), a plot of land from which one hayrick could be mown (the size of the rick ranged from 10 to 30 cartloads, sometimes as many as 40 or 60). These allotments made up plots (*өлбүгэ*) which were extremely varied in size, depending on the "class," and there were three or four "classes." One first-class plot (*бастыг* or *үлэһэн өлбүгэ*) was equal to two second-class plots (*орто өлбүгэ*) and three or four third-class plots (*кенниki* or *кунчуҕуй өлбүгэ*). The population was also divided into three or four classes: the toyon households belonged to the first class, and received a first-class plot, the middle households were usually assigned to the second class and the poorer people to the third and fourth classes, each receiving the corresponding clan plot. Thus, the system itself gave the toyons plots of land which were three or four times larger than those of the poorer people. It is true that in return for this the toyons had somewhat greater obligations, but the difference in their extent was extremely small. However, this inequality was by no means the only thing. The toyons actually possessed much more land, having seized it in a variety of different ways. For example, they had several plots, rather than just one, by registering them in the names of their children, workers and so on. It was also the custom to give officials (who were more often than not themselves toyons) additional plots of land, so-called *указ-кугуго* (from the Russian word "ukaz" [edict]), for which, incidentally, there was no payment. The influential toyons also obtained extra plots called ugayy (or kharyy).

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

the whole of their lives, and only occasionally eat their fill . . . it is a country of systematic starvation."[4] But the Yakut toiling masses were particularly badly off during the long and severe Yakutiyan winter. "The periods of hunger," wrote another observer, "when there is absolutely nothing to eat, when all the crumbs have been picked up and consumed, when the cows carrying calves are not milked, and nature, paralyzed by the cold, firmly resists all attempts to find food, are repeated every year and two-thirds of the Yakut population have to suffer for a fairly prolonged period on this account." [5]

On the other hand, individuals with fortunes of tens of thousands of rubles stood out among the wealthy Yakut hierarchy. The wealthy estates developed mainly through trade and various kinds of speculation, although the owners did not hesitate to apply the old patriarchal-feudal methods of exploitation in amassing their wealth.

Crushed by the omnipotence of the toyons, the masses of poor people in the ulus hardly dared to protest or fight for their rights. It was only now and then that the toyon oppression gave rise to outbursts of protest, but these were sporadic and promptly suppressed. This was the fate of the revolt of Vasiliy Manchara (1830-1850), hero of the Yakut legends.

Given the sharp class contradictions, it was extremely characteristic that certain very archaic survivals were retained in the Yakut social structure and left on it their own strange imprint. Some of these survivals were nothing more than form devoid of its original content.

Right up to the Revolution the Yakuts retained their division into clans (*аймаки*). But the clans were purely administrative units legalized by the "Native Code" of 1822, although they were historically descended from the ancient clans of the clan-tribal stage.

At the head of these administrative clans stood elected elders (who were called in the old-fashioned Yakut language "princelings" (kinees, or achchygyy kinees—"small princeling"). Several clans banded into a nasleg, which was also governed by an elected elder (in actual fact often hereditary), known in the Yakut language as ulakhan kinees or "great prince," who together with the clan elders made up the "clan administration." A group of naslegs formed an ulus, at the head of which there was an elected ulus head and a "native council." The ulusy, and also some of the naslegs, and even the clans, were historically associated with the ancient Yakut tribes, whose names they continued to bear—for example, the Meginskiy, Borogonskiy, Baturusskiy, Namskiy, Western and Eastern Kangalasskiy and other ulusy, the Betyunskiy, Batulinskiy, Ospetskiy and other naslegs.

At the end of the 19th century there were in all 17 ulusy, divided into 230 naslegs and 934 clans in the Yakut district (in the four okrugs—Yakutskiy, Vilyuyskiy, Verkhoyanskiy and Kolymskiy, since in the fifth—Olekminskiy Okrug—the ulusy were replaced by volosts of the Russian type).

Only the terminology of the tribal structure was retained in this administrative system. In actual fact, the tribal administrations and native councils were only organs of power of the ruling toyon stratum

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[4] V. F. Troshchanskiy. Nabroski o yakutakh Yakutskogo okruga (Notes on the Yakuts in the Yakutskiy Okrug). Kazan', 1911, p. 17.

[5] V. L. Seroshevskiy. Yakuty (opyt etnograficheskogo issledovaniya), 1 (The Yakuts [Attempt at an Ethnographic Study]). St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 423.

(naturally, subordinate in turn to the tsarist administration); those who sat at the head of them, the elders and chief elders, were either toyons in origin, or mere servants who obeyed them implicitly. The clan and nasleg meetings (munnyakh), at which the poor people dared not say a word, played the same part.

Thus, the frequently expressed opinion that the clan structure was retained among the Yakuts right up to the 20th century is a profound error.

Just as erroneous is the opinion of certain ethnographers that there were elements of the matriarchate among the Yakuts. This view is based on the fact that there was a division of the aga-uus (paternal clan) into smaller groups, iye-uuha (literally, "maternal clan"). The latter do indeed figure in the 19th-century official documents under the name of "tribal clans." But, despite the Yakut name, these small groups were not genuine maternal clans; kinship and descent were not reckoned on the female but on the male side. The name "iye-uus" is evidently to be explained by the fact that these subdivisions were descended from one clan progenitor, though from different wives.

More direct, although also more or less modified, survivals of primitive-communal relations were retained by the Yakuts in certain characteristic customs, such as, for example, elements of collectivism in fishing. The Yakuts retained the custom of communal net-fishing in rivers and lakes belonging to individual naslegs and clans. The catch, which was often an extremely abundant one, was divided on the spot among those taking part as well as among the onlookers (though the latter received less, admittedly). In the north there was a similar custom for moulting geese, which were caught by tens of thousands.

The custom of mutual gifts (belekh) was also very archaic. The Yakut would visit a relative or friend, sometimes at a far-away spot, and receive a gift from his host, as though in gratitude for the visit; the gift would be a horse, saddle, a certain amount of meat, and so on, and in return, according to custom, he would invite the giver to visit him, although it might be a long time after, and present him with a gift of approximately the same value. These gifts were often timed to coincide with weddings, though they were sometimes presented independently.

The custom of hospitality was also observed. Hosts had to regale a guest visiting them, even though he might be a complete stranger, with the same food that they ate themselves. Since this custom clashed with the capitalist psychology, reared on commercial relationships, it was regarded in many cases as an inevitable evil which everyone tried to avoid in every way he could; this often resulted in comic episodes in which the hosts (more often than not wealthy people) hastily hid away the food they were about to eat when they saw a guest approaching, while the latter resorted to various tricks in order to find where the food was hidden. According to the old custom, the host was also obliged to invite relatives and neighbors whenever a beast was slaughtered and to offer them meat. Nonobservance of this custom gave rise to public censure.

Apart from these individual customs, the Yakut society admittedly retained the characteristic, half-conscious patriarchal ideology, which was clearly not a reflection of their true relationships, although it served the interests of the toyons, who knew how to make use of it. The toyons liked to style themselves the forefathers, heads and sponsors of their clans; they skillfully fomented various interclan quarrels (usually

53;Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

number of (ecclesiastical) books were published in Yakut. After the 1905 revolution, artistic and journalistic literature in Yakut began to appear.

Nevertheless, education remained on a low level among the broad Yakut masses. There were no Yakut national schools. Russian church and state schools began to appear in Yakutiya in the 18th century, but there were very few of them. Even in the early 1900's, there were only 11 rural primary schools in all of Yakutiya, and 57 parish and literacy schools. The masses had little access to these schools, and still less to the secondary schools; there were only 5 of these, and they were located only in cities. Of the Yakuts, it was mainly the children of toyons who could get into them.

Nevertheless, even at the end of the 19th century, a small Yakut intelligentsia began to appear—teachers, officials, lawyers and doctors, who had chiefly received education at Tomsk University. From among this intelligentsia there emerged individual amateurs of local history and folklore—the first Yakut ethnographers and collectors. But by their class affiliation and ideology, these first Yakut intellectuals were inclined to the toyon camp, and were injected with nationalism. Alongside this bourgeois-toyon intelligentsia, there appeared in the last years preceding the October Revolution, under the influence of Social-Democratic and Bolshevist propaganda by political exiles (particularly in the circle led by Yemelyan Yaroslavskiy), a small nucleus of progressive Russian cultural workers.

Socialist Reconstruction

Formation of Yakut ASSR

In Yakutiya, just as throughout the country, the establishment of the Soviet regime involved a fierce struggle against internal and external enemies. In the autumn of 1918 power was seized in Yakutsk by the followers of Kolchak with the help of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries.[6] Hardly had the Yakutsk workers had time to overthrow the counterrevolutionary regime of Kolchak (December 15, 1919) when there flared up, particularly in the autumn of 1921, the kulak and White Guard revolts, led by tsarist officers and Yakut toyons who had been hiding in the remoter areas.

On February 16, 1922, the Presidium of the VTsIK (All-Union Central Executive Committee) adopted a resolution on the formation of the Yakut ASSR. On April 27, 1922, the Presidium, with M. I. Kalinin in the chair, reviewed this question again and decreed as follows: "To form a Yakut Autonomous Soviet Republic as a federal part of the RSFSR with its administrative center in Yakutsk."

In the autumn of 1922 the young Yakut Republic was faced with a serious threat: the American and Japanese imperialists had moved up General Pepelyayev's troops into Yakutya from Manchuria. The General received half a million rubles in gold from the American firm of Olaf Svenson and the British Hudson's Bay Company. The Americans and Japanese equipped Pepelyayev with weapons, ammunition and equipment. Food supplies and weapons were the responsibility of the Japanese

[6] The Mensheviks were a dissident wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP), which was also the parent organization of the Communist Party. The Social Revolutionaries (SR's) were moderate agrarian socialists; they participated in the government during the first months after the October Revolution.—Ed.

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

175 firm Arai Gumi. The Yakut people took up arms in defense of their young
● 648 Republic. In March 1923, with the help of the Red Army units, General Pepelyayev was crushed.

175 Even while the struggle against the Pepelyayev bands was still at its
631 height, in December 1922 there was held the first All-Yakut Constituent Assembly of Soviets; this conference elected a Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars of the YaASSR. In 1923 the Constitution of the YaASSR was adopted at the Third All-Yakut Congress of Soviets. In 1937 a new Yakutiyan Constitution was drafted and on March 9 of the same year it was adopted.

Industry and Transportation

433 During the Five-Year Plans a major socialist industry was developed in Yakutiya. At the present time, in addition to the gold, nonferrous metal and mica industries, there are coal, shipbuilding, building-materials, printing and also fish and dairy industries in Yakutiya.

316 Gold was first mined in the regions bordering on Yakutiya (Vitim and Olekma Basins) more than 100 years ago. But in Yakutiya itself the gold was only mined in very small quantities. In 1923 a prospecting party fitted out by the Yakutiyan government, with the help of Yakut guides, discovered the huge gold deposits on the river Aldan. The Aldan immediately became a major gold-mining area. All around the Aldan there arose settlements, mines, and power stations. At the present time the Aldan mines use powerful electrodredges, conveyors, compressors, excavators and haulage machinery.

[317] The salt reserves of Kempendey along the tributary of the Vilyuy are being exploited on a wide scale.

Extensive prospecting has resulted in the discovery of dozens of new coal deposits. There is now a coal industry in Yakutiya. An example of the rapid development of the coal industry in Yakutiya is the Sangarskiy area. Gold was first mined in Sangary in 1928. During the first year of the mine's existence only 15 tons of coal were brought up, operations being conducted entirely by hand. Nowadays the mine is a large, well-equipped industrial enterprise. A mechanized system for loading the coal onto barges has been installed. The construction of houses and cul-
[361] tural facilities on a large scale has begun in the coal-mining regions. Sangary itself has become a miners' settlement and an industrial corner of Yakutiya.

313 Before the advent of the Soviet regime the very rich forest reserves of Yakutiya were hardly touched. The timber rotted where it stood, or else was destroyed by forest fire. At the present time forestry is a leading branch of the Yakut economy. Advanced Soviet machinery is used on a wide scale at the lumber camps. There are mobile power stations, and electric saws with power units. The forestry organizations have been provided with dozens of hauling tractors and trucks. Fully mechanized sectors have been set up. The timer is floated downriver by means of mechanical traction. Sawmills have been built.

47 Hundreds of industrial plants have been set up in Yakutiya during the
178 Soviet period. The manufacture of glass, bricks, building materials, refractory materials, furniture, leatherwares and footwear, provides for local needs.

433 In accordance with the planned development of the economy the Yakut
184 region has been divided up into specialized regions—coal mining in the

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

and Muna on the Lena; the Edzhen group lived on the lower reaches and the Dongot group on the upper reaches of the Olenek. The ancestors of the Karyntuo probably also lived on the Olenek.

Clans with the name Dolgan and Edyan (Edzhen) were commonly found among the Evens and Evenks. For example, Dolgan clans are known in the regions of the Anadyr' and Gizhiga, on the Kamchatka and Okhotsk coast; Edzhen clans are known in the Aldan Basin, around the Ayan on the Okhotsk coast, and so on.

During the 18th century the ancestors of the present-day Dolgans migrated to the northwest, the Dolgan groups moving to the rivers Popigay and Khatanga, the Dongot and Edzhens to the Noril'sk Lakes region, and the Karyntuo to the Boganida River basin. Those left on the Lena became part of the local Yakut naslegs as separate clans.

The first Yakut settlers appeared at the end of the 17th century in the Khatanga Basin on the river Kheta, and from then on the influx continued to increase. In the 18th century these Yakuts formed into the Lower Tundra Yakut Volost.

Even before the Yakuts—at the beginning of the first half of the 17th century—the rivers Pyasina, Dudypta, Boganida, Kheta, and Khatanga were settled by Russian hunters and trappers who founded the ancient Russian population of these places, subsequently known as tundra peasants. They were chiefly concerned with fishing, and to a lesser extent with hunting. It was from them in particular that the Dolgans and Nganasans learned to set pitfall traps for the polar fox. The influence of their Russian neighbors has long been evident in the dwellings and everyday life of the Dolgans, that is to say, during the migration to the Taymyr.

During the 18th and 19th centuries the gap between the culture and everyday life of the different groups of the population in this territory began to narrow. The Yakut language became predominant and was absorbed not only by originally Tungus groups, but also by a large number of tundra peasants. Intermarriage swept away the former barriers between the Evenks, Yakuts and Russians to an ever greater extent.

The system of tsarist administration was no different here from what existed in any other part of Northern Siberia. The Dolgans, Yakuts and Evenks had to pay the fur-tax as "natives" and formed "clans" headed by princelings, while the tundra peasants were forced to pay a poll tax, were formed into a "community" and headed by an elder. People living many hundreds of kilometers away from the nearest centers were economically dependent on the merchants who monopolized supplies to the region, bought up all the furs, and cruelly exploited the population.

Economy and Everyday Life

The main occupations of the Dolgans of the past were reindeer-breeding, hunting, and, in certain regions, fishing. Until quite recently the Dolgans were still leading a nomadic life. Their nomadizing was basically of two types. In the region of the Noril'sk Lakes and in the basin of the Popigay, they retained a more archaic system of nomadizing and did not leave, generally speaking, the forest-tundra belt, but kept to the forest-covered river valleys in the winter, and wandered back to the bare steppes for the summer. The winter camps of other groups of Dolgans stretched along the forest-tundra belt from Lake Pyasino to the lower reaches of the Popigay. These were typical "edge-of-the-forest" dwellers. The winter was spent in the forest-tundra with slight deviations south of the northern boundary of the forest vegetation, while the summer was passed in the tundra,

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

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Men's snow goggles.

There were certain traces of matriarchy still to be found. For example, in the old times several Dolgan families living in one dwelling would elect a communal housewife, to whom all the men were subordinate. Until quite recently, maternal kinship was considered closer than paternal kinship among the Dolgans. The women kept the fire going and "fed it," and also supervised the family sacred relics. Clan organisation among the Dolgans fell into abeyance in the 19th century.

The development of trade and the introduction of improved techniques into the principal occupation of the Dolgans, that is to say hunting, led to the acquisition of furs on a personal level. Furs had long been an item of trade. Their commercial importance had an effect on the relations among the Dolgans in the field of distribution. Products from reindeer-hunting or fishing had to be divided among relatives and neighbors, while furs (polar-fox or sable) were considered the absolute property of the hunter and were left untouched. An important factor in the social differentiation of the Dolgans was the concentration of the bulk of the reindeer herds, which were not particularly numerous as a whole, in the hands of a small group of rich households. This became a basis for different forms of exploitation: such as the loaning of reindeer to poor people who then became dependent on the richer reindeer-breeders, the hiring of herdsmen, mainly orphans or poor relatives, and so on. Nomadic groups were often formed through the congregation of poorer households around a richer reindeer-breeder, who made use of his neighbors' labor for pasturing and watching the herd. In the second half of the 19th century petty Russian commercial travelers appeared among the Dolgans, together with Yakut merchants who exploited their kinsmen.

Nevertheless, the economic production and distribution among the Dolgans retained numerous traces of the original communal relationships. This includes the above-mentioned collective forms of hunting (cuttings, spearings), joint fowling, fishing and so forth. Although the means of production for hunting and fishing had long since become private property, the booty

SS. /92 cont./
101 questions concerning the peoples of the Amur region will only
121 rarely be found in the following pages. There are only very
SS. few definite, undeniable, self-evident facts in this direction,
174 but many appearances and circumstances which can be connected in combinations and surmises that have a certain degree of probability.

SS. There can hardly be any doubt but that in the Amur region
174 in the historical period, too, many changes and shifts in the
167 habitation sites of its peoples have taken place. How could
648 the great movements of peoples which demonstrably took place all around the Amur region not have sent waves also into the Amur region? And how is it conceivable that the many wars for which the Amur region has been the theater or in which many of its peoples have taken part would not also have caused many a change in their areas of distribution? One need only remember that before the Manchu conquered the imperial throne of China in the seventeenth century, their ancestors had already risen through successful warfare to be the rulers of this mighty empire twice: the first time as Khitan or Liao in the tenth century (907-1125) and then in the twelfth century (1125-1243) as Jutschi /93/ (Njutschi, Dschurdschi) or Kin /Chin/, as their dynasty called itself on the throne. Of necessity the entire southern Amur region was involved when these warlike hordes broke out of their forests and mountains. The immediately subsequent movement of the Mongols under Genghis Khan and his successors, which itself arose in the source area of the Amur River and, among other things, broke the power of the Kin in China, in turn brought forth a series of migrations of peoples that must have extended from the west and north even into the Amur region. When the Buryat, a Mongolian tribe, advanced to the
Y source country of the Amur River and beyond, to Lake Baikal,
174 they came into contact at the latter with the Turkish-Tatar
167 original dwellers on it, the Yakut, who, retreating before the
648 intruders, descended into the Lena Valley and spread northward

194 /93 cont./
167 along this river (1). There, however, they in turn encountered
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194 1. According to Gmelin (Reise durch
167 Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743
648 /Journey Through Siberia from 1733
648 to 1743/, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. II,
113 pp. 344, 345), even in his time there was among the Yakut an old story about the pressure that they had suffered from the Buryat, which had caused them to move down the Lena Valley. Cf. also Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. VI, 1761, p. 147; Fischer, Sibir. Gesch. /Siberian History/, St. Petersb., 1768, Vol. I, pp. 108, 109; Schlözer /Schlötzer/, Allgem. Nord. Gesch. /General History of the Northland/, Halle, 1771, p. 416; Stepanov", Eniseisk. gub. /Yenisei Province/, St. Petersburg, 1835, Part II, p. 45; Ritter, Asien, Vol. II, p. 5; Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibir. /A Journey in the Extreme North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, pp. 1542, 1545. Even the name "Baikal" is said to be of Yakut origin and to mean something like "abundant waters" (cf. Laxmann, Sibirische Briefe /Letters from Siberia/, ed. by Schlözer, Göttingen, 1769, p. 37, note).

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194 many Tungusic tribes who put up a stubborn resistance against
167 them and, as it still survived vigorously in the last century in
648 their traditions, only retreated after many bloody battles (2).

2. Gmelin, op. cit., p. 345; Müller,

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/93 cont./

2. (cont.)
op. cit., pp. 150, 151; Fischer, op. cit., p. 110; Schlözer, loc. cit.

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While part of the Tungus retreated to the west, to the Yenisei (3),

3. Stepanof (Eniseiskaia gub., Part II, p. 43) shifts the time when the Tungus came to the Yenisei to the twelfth or thirteenth century, which is probably too far back, since they were not pushed out of their sites on Lake Baikal by the Buryat until the fourteenth century (see Middendorff, loc. cit.).

another part was pushed toward the extreme north up to the Arctic Sea, and still others moved eastward along the right tributaries of the Lena to the Stanovoi Mountains, the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Amur region. Since the tough and vigorous

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Yakut did not stop their expansion until they had reached the shores of the Arctic Sea in the north, the northwest, and the northeast (4), the migrations among the Tungus and other

4. See Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1324, 1467, 1543, concerning the gradual advance of the Yakut in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into the Lena Valley up to the coasts of the Arctic Sea, as well as in the northwest to the Taimyr region and in the northeast to the Jana /Yana/, Indigirka, Kilyma, and in our century even up to the Sea of Okhotsk. Their many advances into the Amur region have been noted repeatedly above.

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174 /93 cont./
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648 peoples (5) occasioned by it must have continued for a long time

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5. For instance, among the Yukagir, the Tschuwanz /Chuvan/, and others. Some also see in this the cause that led the original inhabitants of the extreme north, such as, for example, the Omok, relatives or the ancestors of the Yukagir (see above, pp. 2 and 3), to leave the mainland, according to legend, and to emigrate to a still unknown polar region; for example, Markham (see Whymper, Trav. and advent. in the territ. of Aliaska, London, 1868, p. 251), Neumann (Izv. Sibirsk. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. III, Irkutsk, 1872, p. 34; Vol. IV, p. 155), and others.

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648 in the directions indicated. But these waves had not yet subsided when a new movement of even greater consequence began from the west -- the advance of the Russian conquerors, which, /94/ of course, exerted the greatest and most lasting influence upon the ethnographic conditions throughout Siberia. Advancing relentlessly, the stream of these not so numerous, but extraordinarily bold conquerors poured from the north and the west during the seventeenth century into the Amur region, passing over it like repeated tidal waves, and frequently ravaging it from one end to the other. Finally, many such movements on the mainland must have been felt on nearby Sakhalin, where, moreover, also from the south, through events like the gradual expansion of Japanese power toward the north, many changes in the original delimitation of its people had to follow.

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167 Now, what shifts in the habitation sites of the Amur peoples actually took place as a consequence of those events we can only gather from the historical reports concerning the Amur